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ABSTRACT

This report examined the economic and demographic characteristics of infants and toddlers, how these characteristics changed between 1980 and 1990, and the percentage of the infant and toddler population served by federal early childhood programs. This examination of census and other data found that during the 1980s, the number of poor infants and toddlers in the United States increased by 26 percent. In some cities and rural areas, over 45 percent of the infants and toddlers lived in poverty. In addition, poor and near-poor infants and toddlers were much more likely than nonpoor children to be from: (1) immigrant families; (2) households where no person over the age of 14 spoke English well; (3) single-parent families; (4) families where parents had low educational levels; and (5) families where the parents did not work. Three appendixes discuss the objectives, scope, and methodology of the study; present statistical data; and list the contributors to the report. (MDM)

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United States General Accounting Office

GAO

Report to the Chairman, Subcommittee on Children, Family, Drugs and Alcoholism, Committee on Labor and Human Resources, U.S. Senate

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April 1994

INFANTS AND TODDLERS

Dramatic Increases in Numbers Living in Poverty

ED 370 705

GAO/HEHS 94-74

GAO

United States
General Accounting Office
Washington, D.C. 20548

Health, Education, and
Human Services Division

B-254936

April 7, 1994

The Honorable Christopher J. Dodd
Chairman, Subcommittee on Children,
Family, Drugs and Alcoholism
Committee on Labor and Human Resources
United States Senate

Dear Mr. Chairman:

Head Start, the major federal program providing preschool and developmental services to poor young children, as well as social services for their families, is scheduled for reauthorization in 1994. The Head Start program serves primarily 3- to 5-year-olds, but its research and demonstration programs serve a small number of children aged birth through 2-years-old. In recent months, the Advisory Committee on Head Start Quality and Expansion has proposed expanding the Head Start program to better serve these younger children.[1] This proposal has been made in light of the demonstrated benefits of early intervention and the nation's commitment to school readiness for all children, which would include infants and toddlers, as stated in the National Education Goals.[2]

To inform the Subcommittee's deliberations over expanding Head Start, you requested that we provide information on the number and characteristics of infants and toddlers. In July 1993, we provided you with demographic information on preschool-aged children (those 3 and 4 years of age) in the report Poor Preschool-Aged Children: Numbers Increase but Most Not in Preschool (GAO/HRD-93-111BR, July 21, 1993). We found large increases in the numbers of poor and at-risk[3] preschool-aged children. Further, we found that poor and near-poor preschool-aged children were more likely to be at risk than nonpoor children. You asked if infants and toddlers face comparable challenges.

You specifically asked that we

[1]The Advisory Committee on Head Start Quality and Expansion was created in June 1993 to review the Head Start program and make recommendations for improvement and expansion.

[2]In 1990, the President and the nation's governors agreed to six National Education Goals. The first National Education Goal states that by the year 2000 all children in the United States will start school ready to learn.

[3]Children at risk are those who, while not necessarily poor, face significant obstacles to achieving academic success in school. In this report, the term refers to children who live in immigrant families, linguistically isolated households, single-parent families, families where the most educated parent has less than a high school diploma, or families where the parents do not work.

- analyze 1980 and 1990 decennial census data to provide information on the demographic and economic characteristics of the infant and toddler population and
- describe the eligibility criteria of major early childhood programs and the percentage of the infant and toddler population served by them.

We reported our preliminary results in a briefing to your staff on October 14, 1993. This report updates the briefing we gave you and provides our final results.

Results in Brief

During the 1980s, the number of poor infants and toddlers increased by 26 percent, with some states experiencing even larger increases.[4] Further, in 1990, cities and rural areas were disproportionately affected by high poverty rates; in some cities and rural areas, over 45 percent of all infants and toddlers lived in poverty. In addition, poor and near-poor infants and toddlers were much more likely than nonpoor children to be immigrants and to live in (1) households where no person over the age of 14 spoke English well, (2) single-parent families, (3) families where parents had low educational attainment, or (4) families where the parents did not work. Infants and toddlers were also much more likely to be in these risk groups in 1990 than they were in 1980.

Federal early childhood programs generally provide services to only a small percentage of poor and near-poor infants and toddlers. For example, the Head Start program currently serves only about 1 percent of all poor infants and toddlers. In addition, the Women, Infants, and Children (WIC) program does not serve all eligible infants and toddlers in every state. While early childhood programs target somewhat different populations, they are all now faced with larger and more needy target populations. In light of the demonstrated benefits (see p. 4) of such early childhood programs as the WIC and Childhood Immunization programs, federal and state governments may wish to reexamine their efforts to serve infants and toddlers. The reauthorization of Head Start provides an opportunity for the Congress to consider including more infants and toddlers in the Head Start program.

Background

In 1990, the nation's governors and the President made a commitment to disadvantaged young children by adopting the national education goals.

[4]The Bureau of the Census does not determine poverty status for children who live with nonrelatives, in institutions, or are homeless. A percentage of these infants and toddlers may be poor, near-poor, or at-risk. Further, poverty rates have increased for children under age 5 since the decennial census.

The first goal states that by the year 2000 all children in America will start school ready to learn, will arrive at school with healthy minds and bodies, and all disadvantaged children will have access to developmentally appropriate preschool programs. Research on the demonstrated benefits of programs for disadvantaged young children prompted the adoption of this goal. For example, research has concluded that children who receive high-quality preschool services have improved test scores in elementary school, fewer grade retentions, and reduced placements in special education programs.

The Head Start program, funded at $2.8 billion in fiscal year 1993, is the largest federal program providing preschool and developmental services to poor children, as well as social services for their families. Head Start currently targets children who are 3 years old through the age of compulsory school attendance and who live in families below the poverty level (income below $12,674) or who receive public assistance.[5,6] The program funds child development services and coordinates nutrition and health services through other funding sources, such as Medicaid.

Some policymakers and researchers, including the Advisory Committee on Head Start Quality and Expansion, are proposing expanding the Head Start program to better reach younger children. Their recommendations are based, in part, on early intervention research on other programs that demonstrates the benefits of reaching children at younger ages. In addition, researchers and policymakers are proposing that Head Start become the vehicle for a larger array of health and social services for disadvantaged children and their families. However, others have expressed concern over expanding Head Start services to younger children given that the program currently serves only about one-third of the eligible 3- to 5-year-olds.

The federal government also funds a number of other early childhood programs for disadvantaged young children, although each provides different services and defines disadvantaged young children differently (see table 1). For example, childhood immunizations are funded through the Medicaid program and target children living in families with incomes up to 133 percent of the poverty level (incomes up to $16,856). Medicaid

[5]Poverty ratios are used to control for family size. The dollar amounts provided throughout this report are the total household income for an average-sized family—a family of four. If the family is smaller, the dollar amount is less; similarly, if the family is larger, the dollar amount is more.

[6]This report does not include data specifically on children in families receiving public assistance because of limitations in the Census public assistance variable (see app. I for a discussion of this variable).

also pays for other health services for young children. WIC provides supplemental nutrition for infants, young children, and pregnant mothers and targets those in families at or below 185 percent of the poverty level (incomes at or below $23,446). The Child Care and Development Block Grant (CCDBG) funds child care services for children in families with an annual income at or below 75 percent of the median state income (dollar amounts vary by state).

In addition to the federally funded programs, states and localities fund early childhood programs that provide services such as preschool, immunizations, supplemental nutrition, and child care. The eligibility criteria vary by locality and may or may not match the criteria used by federally funded programs. Data are limited on the number and percentage of poor and near-poor infants and toddlers served by these programs.

In previous work we demonstrated the cost-benefits of providing services to young children and suggested methods that the Congress might want to consider to improve accessibility of two early childhood programs. We found that the supplemental nutrition provided by WIC produces benefits that more than pay for the initial cost of the program within 1 year. We stated that in view of the cost savings that can be attributed to WIC, the Congress might consider (1) amending the Child Nutrition Act of 1966 to ensure that all pregnant income-eligible women would receive WIC assistance, irrespective of nutritional risk, and (2) appropriating sufficient funds to ensure that such women receive services.[7] Since we made this suggestion, the Congress has increased program funding, and more pregnant women are receiving WIC assistance, but not all pregnant income-eligible women, irrespective of nutritional risk, are served. In a March 1993 report on childhood immunizations, we recommended actions that would expand access to immunization services and reduce Medicaid vaccination costs.[8] The Congress and the Department of Health and Human Services have taken steps toward implementing the recommendation for expanding access to immunization services.

Research on the cost-effectiveness of providing Head Start to children from birth through age 2 is limited. However, research has demonstrated that children from 3 to 5 who were enrolled in Head Start have improved

[7]Early Intervention: Federal Investments Like WIC Can Produce Savings (GAO/HRD-92-18, Apr. 7, 1992).

[8]Childhood Immunization: Opportunities to Improve Immunization Rates at Lower Cost (GAO/HRD-93-41, Mar. 24, 1993).

test scores in elementary school, fewer grade retentions, and reduced placements in special education programs.

Scope and Methodology

To determine the number and characteristics of infants and toddlers, we used a special tabulation of data from the 1980 and 1990 decennial censuses. The GAO tabulation contains detailed information on infants and toddlers and their families, including data on their race/ethnicity, immigration status, family income and type, educational attainment and employment status of parents, and other characteristics. The tabulation includes this information for the urban and rural sections of every county in the United States. These data can be aggregated into Metropolitan Areas (MA), states, regions, and the nation as a whole.

Decennial census data on infants and toddlers include a larger and more comprehensive sample than any other existing data sets (see app. I). For example, Census provides state- and county-level data, whereas other data sets provide very little data below the national level. For city-level data we used summary tape file data from the decennial census. For a further discussion of the GAO tabulation and decennial census data used in this report see appendix I.

Because the GAO tabulation was developed using the detailed sample files of the 1980 and 1990 decennial censuses, the data we present have associated sampling errors. For a further discussion of the sampling errors see appendix I. Data points for all figures appear in appendix II.

We obtained information on the nature of major early childhood programs, the eligibility criteria, and the percentage of infants and toddlers served by them from a review of existing documentation including previous GAO reports. We selected the early childhood programs in the areas of health, education, nutrition, and child care programs with the largest budgets. We conducted our review between August 1993 and October 1993 in accordance with generally accepted government auditing standards.

Definitions

In this report, we use the terms infants and toddlers for those birth through 2 years of age, preschool-aged for those 3 and 4 years of age, and young children for all children under age 5 (infants and toddlers as well as preschool-aged children). We use the terms poor, near-poor 1, near-poor 2, and nonpoor in most of the graphics. These terms correspond to eligibility cut-offs for major federal programs. Eligibility cut-offs are not mutually

exclusive (for example, children eligible for Medicaid are also eligible for Head Start); however, we present the data in mutually exclusive categories for readability.[9] The definitions used in the graphics are provided below.

Poor: The Office of Management and Budget (OMB) defines poor children as those in families whose annual household income in 1989 was below $12,674 for a family of four. Children in families living below the poverty level are eligible for the Head Start program as well as Medicaid and WIC.

Near-poor 1: We define near-poor 1 as children in families whose annual household income in 1989 was between 100 percent of poverty and 133 percent of poverty—or between $12,675 and $16,856 for a family of four. Children living in families below 133 percent of poverty are eligible for the Medicaid program as well as WIC.

Near-poor 2: We define near-poor 2 as children in families whose annual household income in 1989 was between 133 percent of poverty and 185 percent of poverty—or between $16,856 and $23,446 for a family of four. Children living in families at or below 185 percent of poverty are eligible for the WIC program.

Nonpoor: We define nonpoor as children in families whose annual household income in 1989 was above 185 percent of poverty—or above $23,446 for a family of four.

CCDBG Eligibility: The federal government defines eligibility for this program as living in a family whose annual household income is below 75 percent of the median state income.

Principal Findings

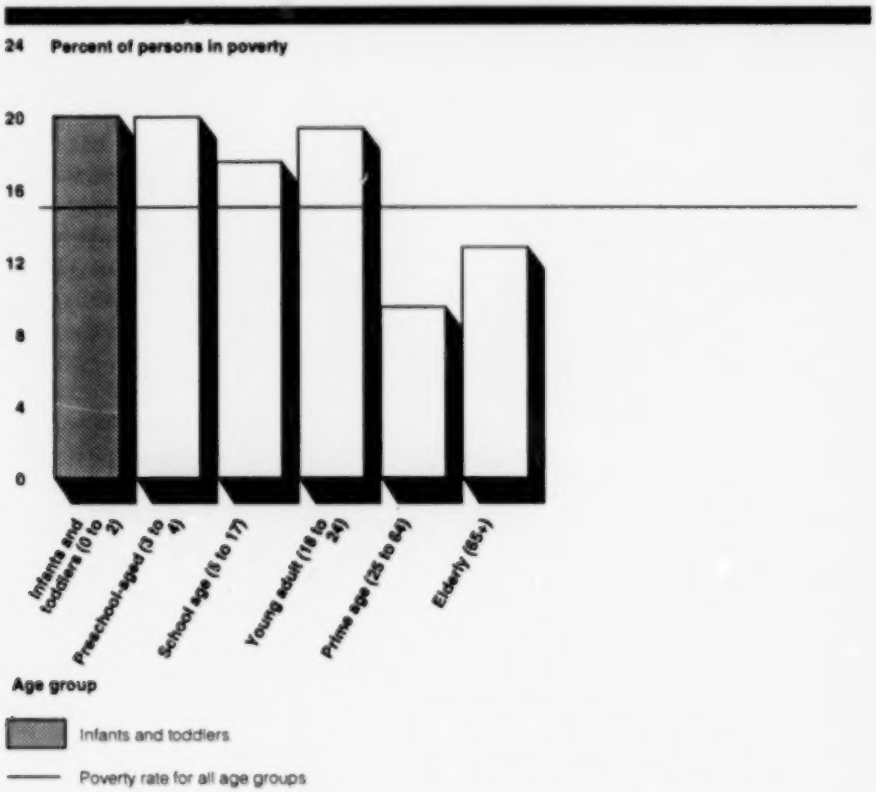
In 1990, Infants and Toddlers Were Poorer Than Rest of the Population

In 1990, 20 percent of infants and toddlers lived in poverty.[10] By contrast, 9 percent of prime-aged adults (age 25 to 64) and 13 percent of the elderly (age 65 and older) lived in poverty (see fig. 1 and table II.1).

[9]We present a separate graphic on the children eligible for CCDBG because this program uses a different eligibility cut-off that varies by state.

[10]Current Population Survey (CPS) data show an increase in the number and rate of poor young children. For example, the March 1992 CPS shows 25 percent of children under age 5 living in poverty, compared with 20 percent in 1990.

Figure 1: Poverty Rates for the U.S. Population, 1990



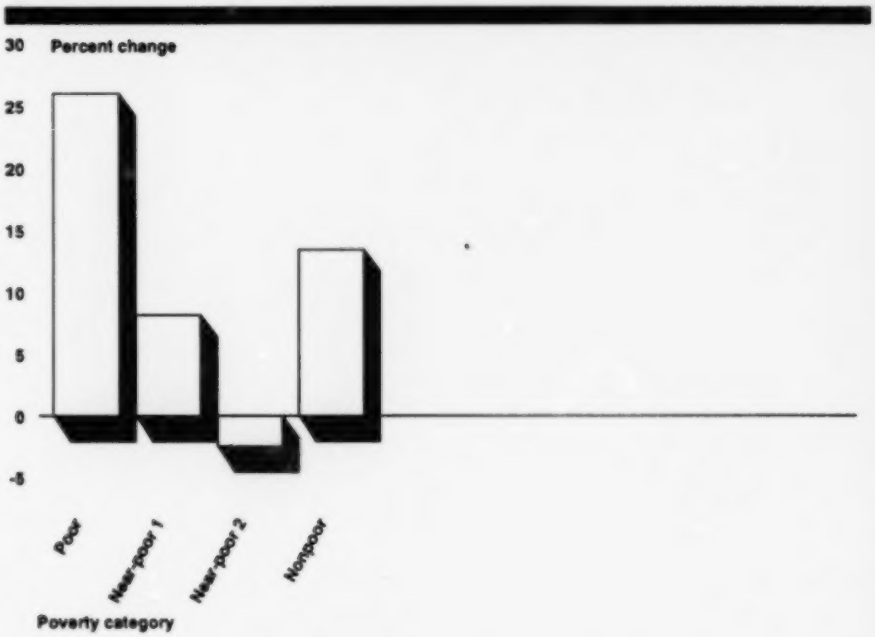
During the 1980s, the Number of Poor Infants and Toddlers Increased Faster Than Those in Other Income Groups

The number of poor infants and toddlers increased by 26 percent during the 1980s—from about 1.8 million in 1980 to about 2.3 million[11] in 1990 (see fig. 2 and table II.2).[12] By contrast, the number of nonpoor infants and toddlers increased by 13 percent—from about 6.0 million to about 6.8 million.

[11]Exact numbers are provided in appendix II. Numbers in this letter are rounded but percentages in this letter are computed using exact numbers.

[12]We focus on children aged birth through 2 living in families; that is, households where one or more persons are related.

Figure 2: Change in Number of Infants and Toddlers by Income Group, 1980-90



In 1990, Poverty Rates for Infants and Toddlers Were Highest in Parts of South and Southwest

In 1990, poverty rates for infants and toddlers were highest in parts of the South and Southwest (see fig. 3 and table II.3). However, states varied in percentage of infants and toddlers living in poverty from 8 to 36 percent. New Hampshire had 8 percent of its infants and toddlers in poverty, while Louisiana and Mississippi each had over one-third of all infants and toddlers in poverty.

Figure 3: Infant and Toddler Poverty Rate by State, 1990

Most States Had High Percentages of Infants and Toddlers Eligible for Child Care and Development Block Grant

All states had at least 35 percent of all infants and toddlers eligible for services under the CCDBG criteria.[13] CCDBG uses median state income in determining eligibility, which measures income relative to others in the state. As a result, some states had high percentages of infants and toddlers eligible for CCDBG, but lower percentages of infants and toddlers in poverty. For example, Alaska had fewer than 15 percent of infants and toddlers in poverty, but it had more than 45 percent of the infants and toddlers eligible for CCDBG (see fig. 4 and table II.4).

[13]CCDBG defines economically disadvantaged children as those living in families with annual incomes at or below 75 percent of the median state income.

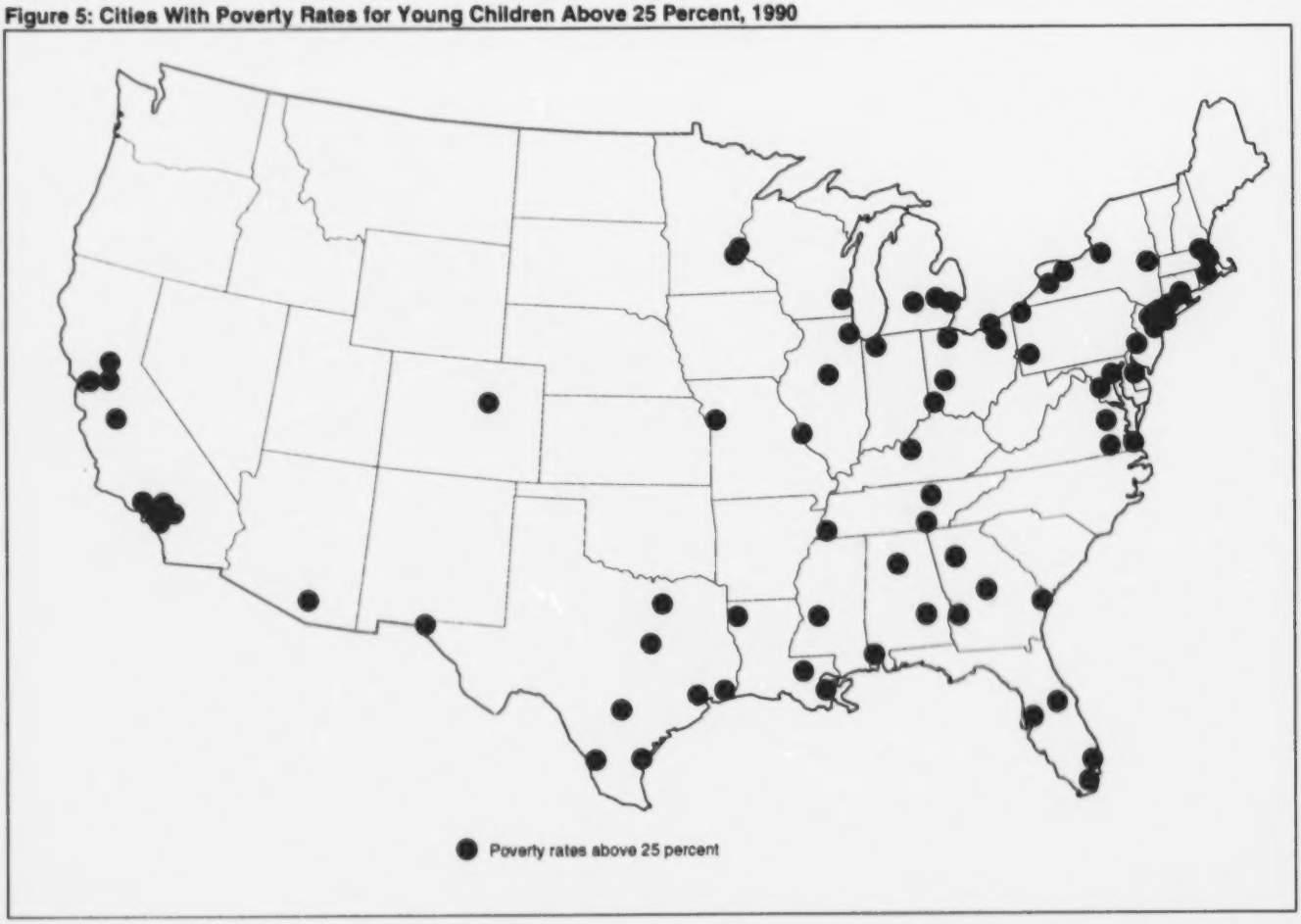
Figure 4: Percent of Infants and Toddlers Eligible for Child Care and Development Block Grant by State, 1990

Note: Percentage of infants and toddlers eligible according to CCDBG criteria.

Many Cities in East and South Had Very High Poverty Rates for Young Children

Many large cities in the East and South had poverty rates for young children (children below age 5) above 25 percent in 1990. Further, seven of these cities had poverty rates of at least 45 percent—Detroit, Michigan; Gary, Indiana; Flint, Michigan; Hartford, Connecticut; New Orleans, Louisiana; Atlanta, Georgia; and Miami, Florida. (see fig. 5 and table II.5).

Figure 5: Cities With Poverty Rates for Young Children Above 25 Percent, 1990

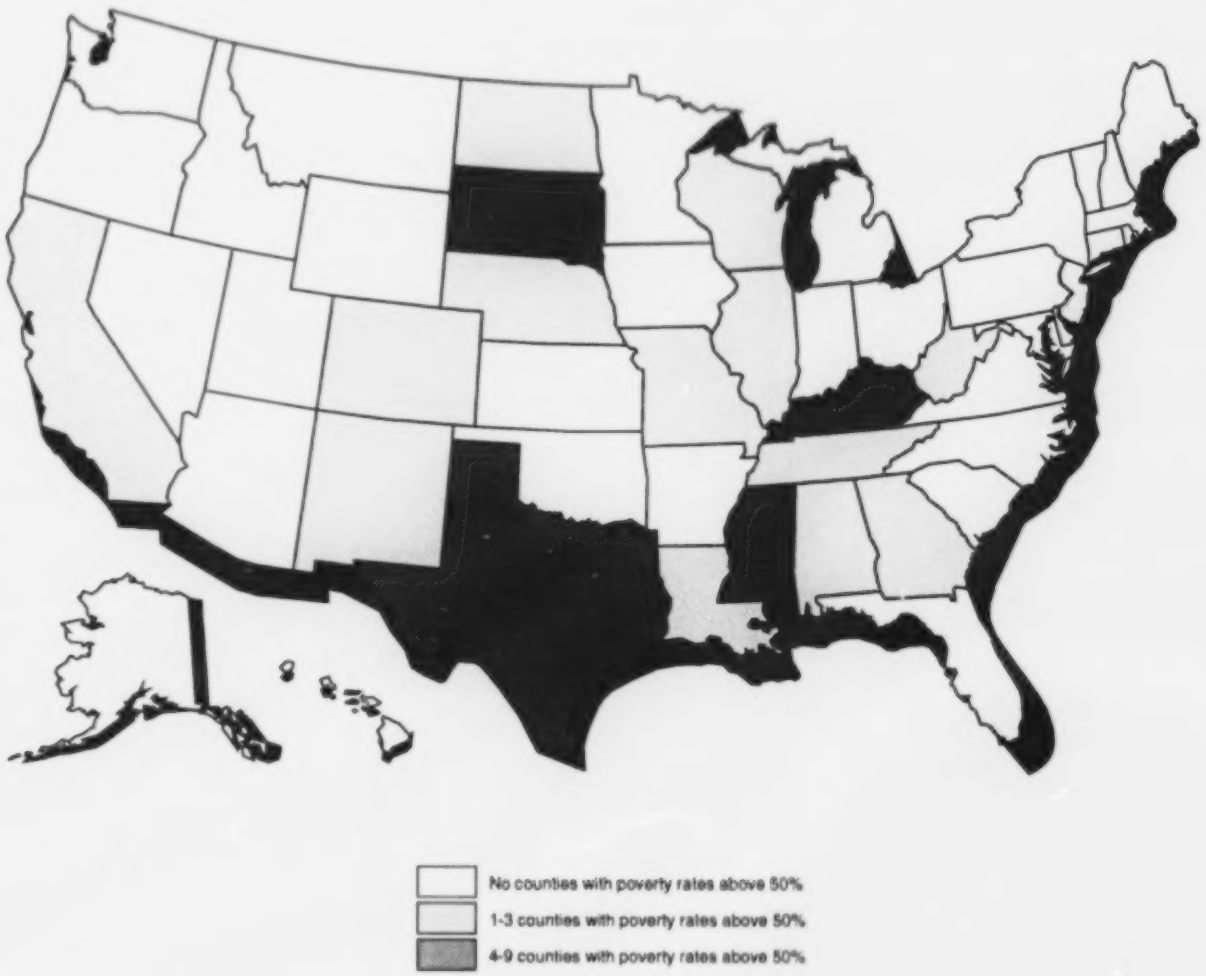


Note: Data for this map include children aged 3 through 4 as well as children aged birth through 2. Census does not report city-level data separately for children aged birth through 2. In national and state analyses, children aged birth through 2 have similar poverty rates to children aged 3 through 4.

Some Rural Counties Had Very High Poverty Rates for Infants and Toddlers

In 1990, most of the counties with poverty rates above 50 percent were rural. Kentucky, Mississippi, South Dakota, and Texas had four or more rural counties with poverty rates for infants and toddlers above 50 percent. Alabama, California, Colorado, Georgia, Illinois, Louisiana, Missouri, Nebraska, New Mexico, North Dakota, Tennessee, West Virginia, and Wisconsin had one to three rural counties with poverty rates above 50 percent. The remaining states had no rural counties with more than 50 percent of infants and toddlers in poverty. (See fig. 6 and table II.6.)

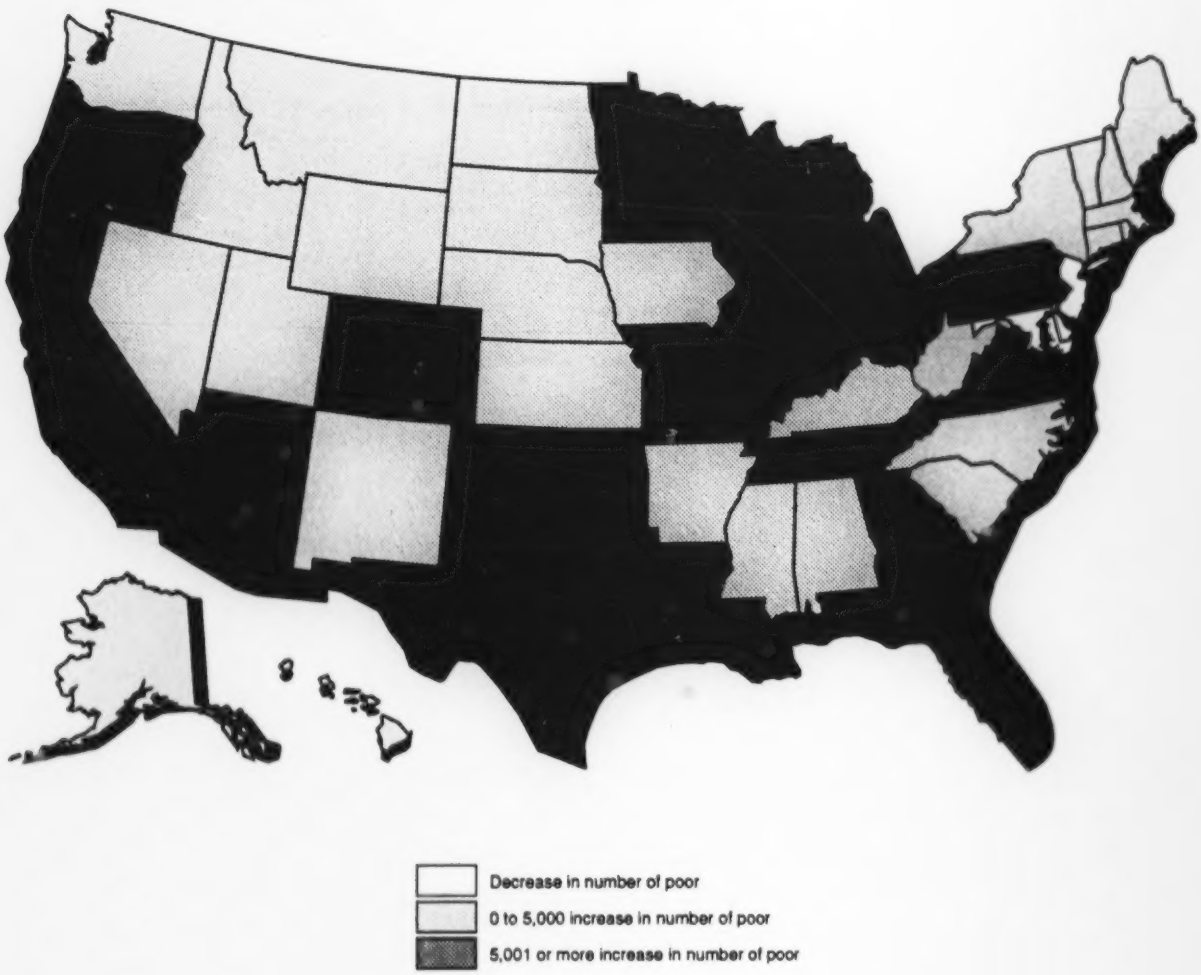
Figure 6: States by Number of Rural Counties With Poverty Rates Above 50 Percent for Infants and Toddlers, 1990



Number of Poor Infants and Toddlers Increased in Most States During the 1980s

The number of poor infants and toddlers increased or remained about the same in most states with 3 states experiencing small decreases in the number of poor infants and toddlers (see fig. 7 and table II.7). While most states increased in numbers of infants and toddlers in poverty, the increases in California and Texas accounted for about one-third of the nation's increase—about 91,000 and about 81,000, respectively.

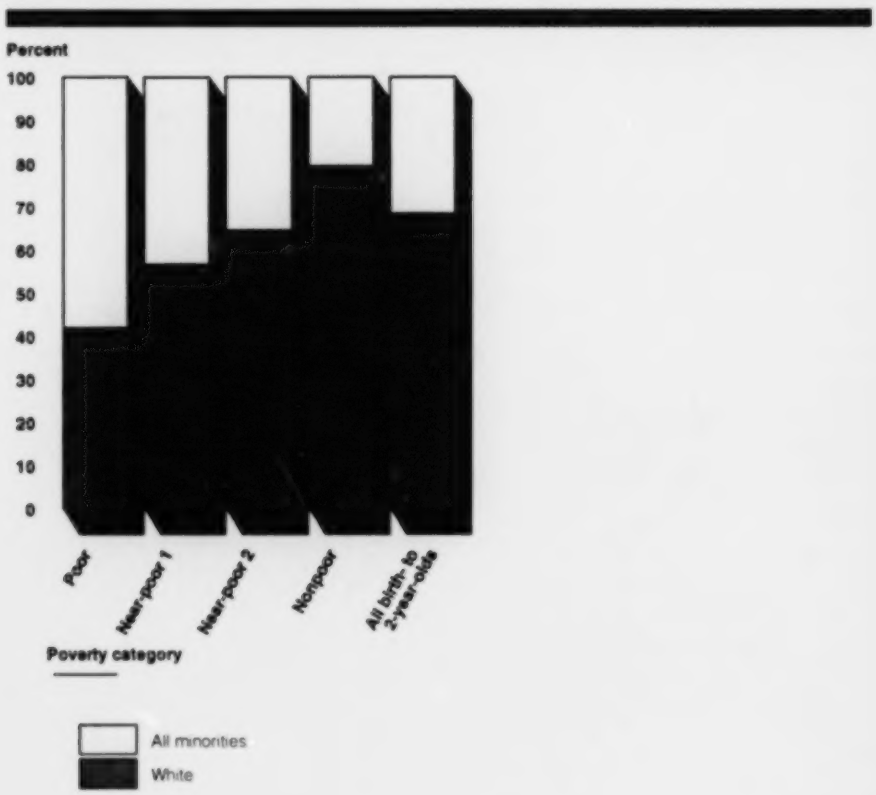
Figure 7: Change in Number of Poor Infants and Toddlers by State, 1980-90



In 1990, Minorities Over-Represented Among Poor and Near-Poor Infants and Toddlers

Minority groups comprised about 58 percent of the poor infant and toddler population—with 32 percent black, 21 percent Hispanic, 2 percent Asian, and 2 percent American Indian. By contrast, minority infants and toddlers comprised 21 percent of the nonpoor infant and toddler population (see fig. 8 and table II.8).

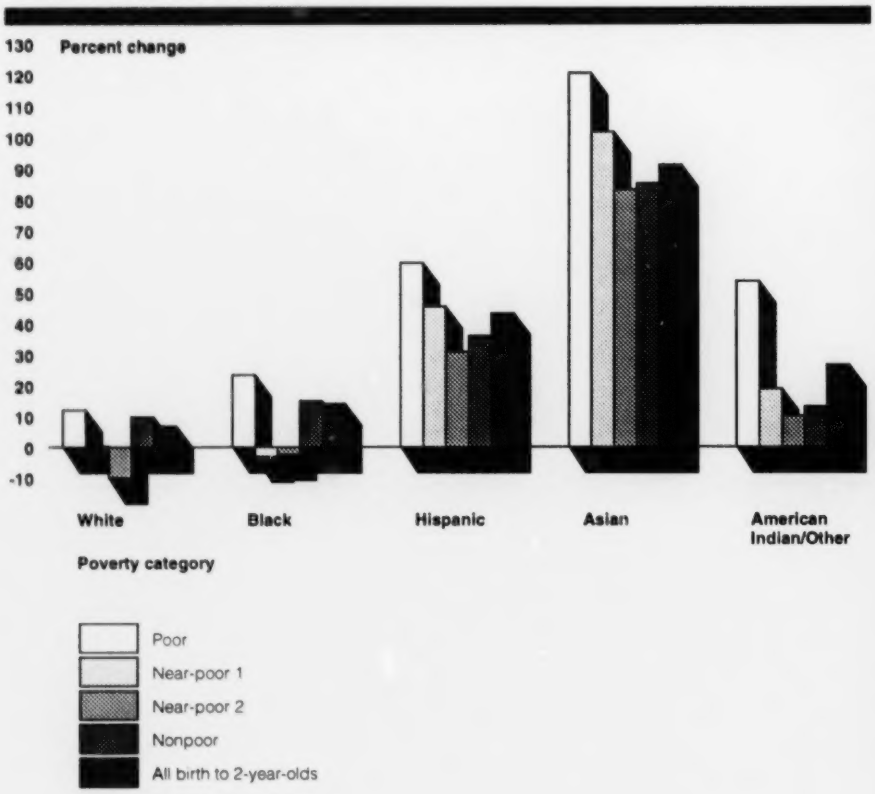
Figure 8: Percent of Infants and Toddlers in Minority Groups by Income, 1990



During the 1980s, the Hispanic and Asian Infant and Toddler Populations Increased at Fastest Rates

During the 1980s, the number of Hispanic and Asian infants and toddlers increased at a greater rate than white and black infants and toddlers, especially among the poor and near-poor. For example, the number of poor white infants and toddlers increased by 12 percent, and black infants and toddlers by 23 percent, while the number of Hispanic poor infants and toddlers increased by 60 percent and poor Asian infants and toddlers increased by 121 percent. Further, the number of near-poor white and black infants and toddlers decreased, while the number of near-poor Hispanic, Asian, American Indian and infants and toddlers in "other" racial/ethnic groups increased by over 15 percent for each group. Despite the increases in numbers of Asians and Hispanics, the base was small in compared with the base for whites. For example, the total number of white infants and toddlers increased from about 7.1 million to about 7.6 million, while the number of Asian infants and toddlers increased from about 166,000 to about 318,000 (see fig. 9 and table II.9).

Figure 9: Percent Change in Number of Infants and Toddlers by Minority Status, 1980-90

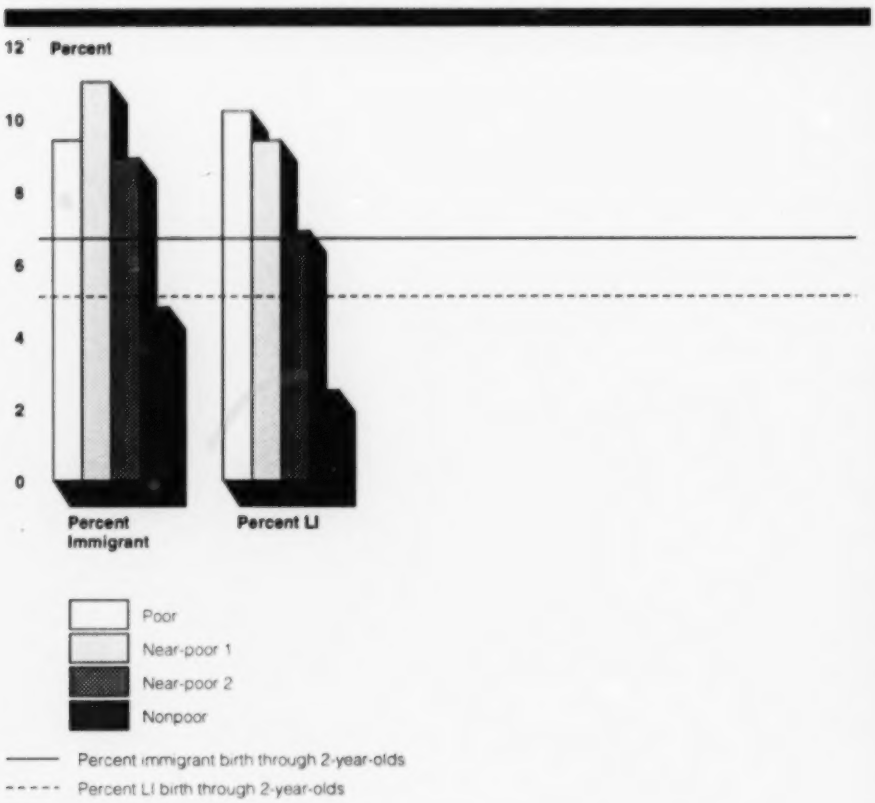


In 1990, Poor and Near-Poor Infants and Toddlers More Likely Than Nonpoor to Be Immigrant or Linguistically Isolated

In 1990, poor and near-poor infants and toddlers were about twice as likely as nonpoor infants and toddlers to be immigrants or linguistically isolated[14] (LI) (see fig. 10 and table II.10). For example, between 9 and 11 percent of the poor and near-poor infants and toddlers were immigrants, compared with 5 percent of nonpoor infants and toddlers. In 1990, the total number of immigrant infants and toddlers was about 744,000, and LI was about 568,000.

[14]LI infants and toddlers live in homes where no person over age 14 speaks English "very well."

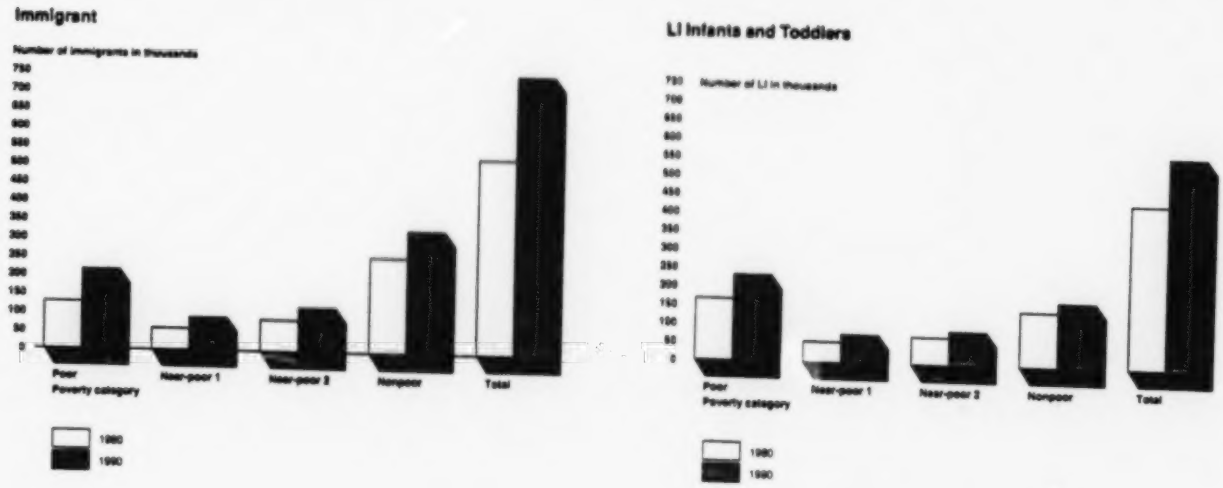
Figure 10: Percent of Infants and Toddlers by Immigrant and LI Status, 1990



During the 1980s, Number of Immigrant and Linguistically Isolated Infants and Toddlers Increased Substantially

During the 1980s, the number of immigrant infants and toddlers increased by 42 percent —from about 523,000 to about 744,000—and the number of LI infants and toddlers increased by 29 percent—from about 442,000 to about 568,000. Poor LI and immigrant infants and toddlers increased at the greatest rates. For example, the number of poor immigrants increased by 68 percent and the number of poor LI infants and toddlers increased by 38 percent (see fig. 11 and table II.11).

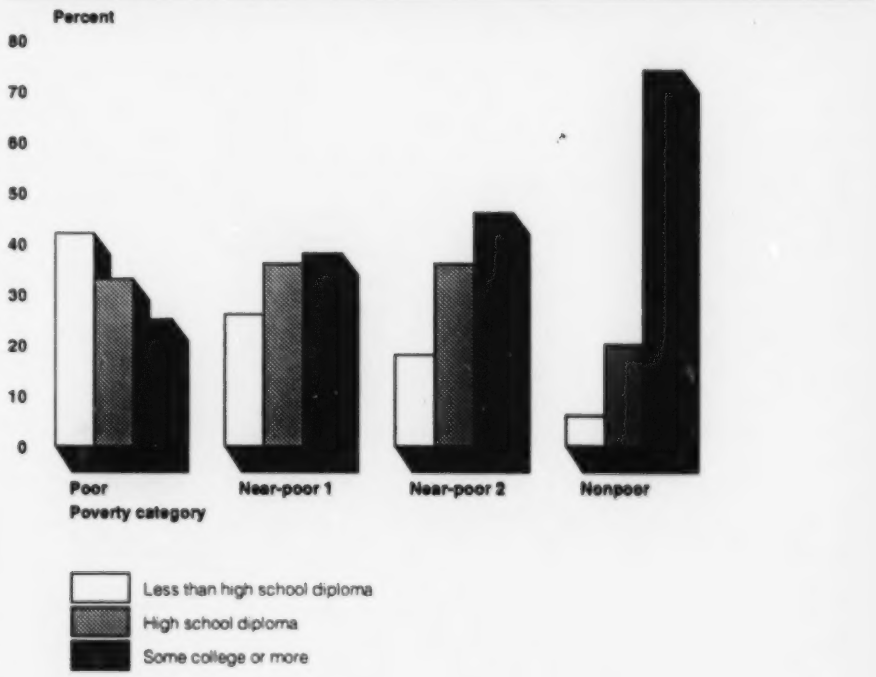
Figure 11: Change in Number of Immigrant and LI Infants and Toddlers, 1980-90



In 1990, Poor and Near-Poor Infants and Toddlers Much More Likely to Live in Families Where Parents Have Not Completed High School

In 1990, poor and near-poor infants and toddlers were substantially more likely than nonpoor infants and toddlers to live in families where the most educated parent had not completed high school, (see fig. 12 and table II.12). For example, 42 percent of poor and 26 and 18 percent of those in the near-poor groups lived in such families, compared with only 6 percent of nonpoor.

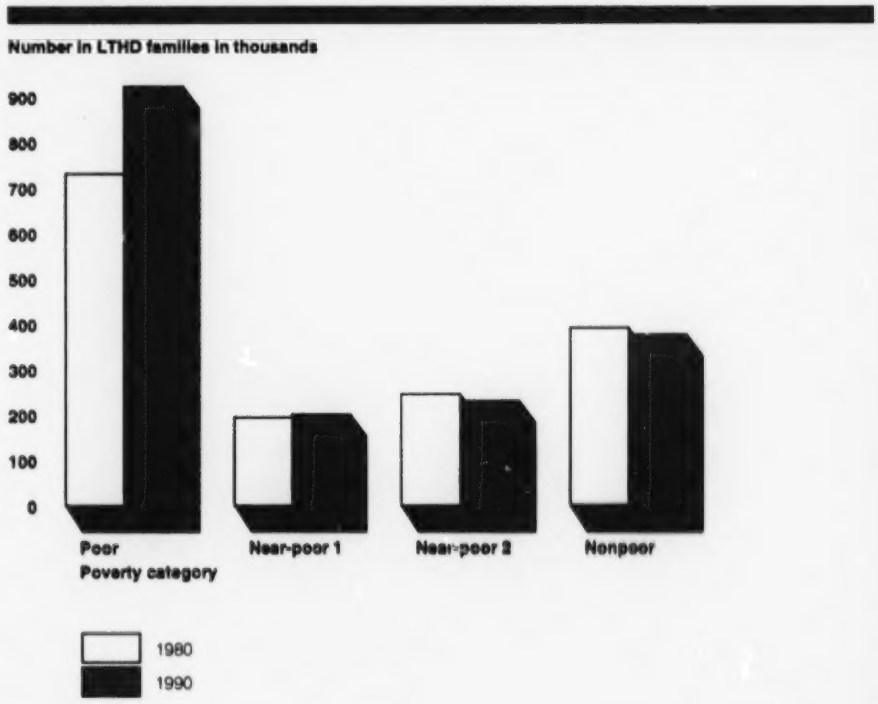
Figure 12: Infants and Toddlers by Educational Attainment of Most Educated Parent and Income Group, 1990



During the 1980s, the Number of Poor Infants and Toddlers in Families Where Parents Had Not Completed High School Increased

The number of poor infants and toddlers in families where the most educated parent had less than a high school diploma (LTHD) increased by 26 percent during the 1980s —from about 731,000 to about 923,000. However, the number of nonpoor infants and toddlers in these families decreased by 4 percent—from about 391,000 to about 376,000 (see fig. 13 and table II.13).

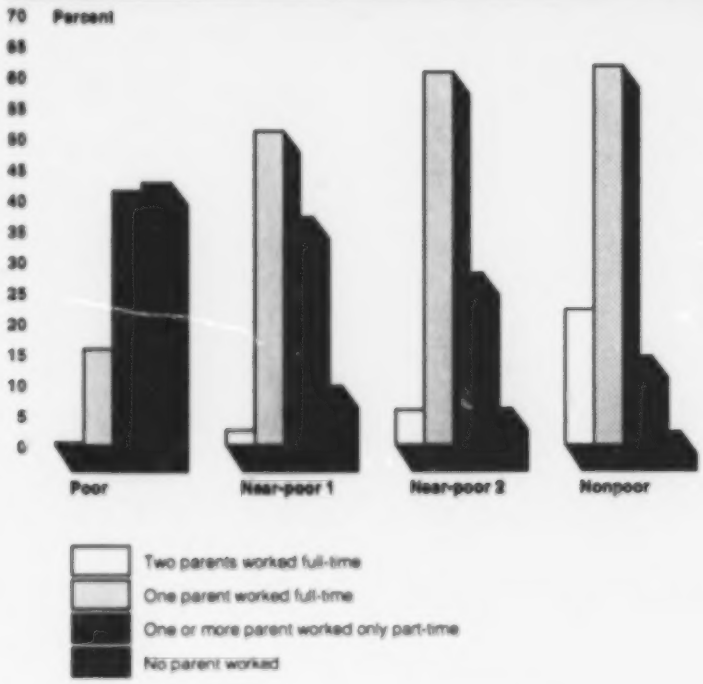
Figure 13: Change in Number of Infants and Toddlers by Educational Attainment of Most Educated Parent and Income Group, 1980-90



In 1990, Large Percentages of Near-Poor Infants and Toddlers Lived in Families With a Working Parent

In 1990, although 43 percent of poor infants and toddlers lived in families where no parent worked, 57 percent lived in families with at least one working parent. In addition, over 90 percent of near-poor infants and toddlers lived with at least one working parent (see fig. 14 and table II.14).

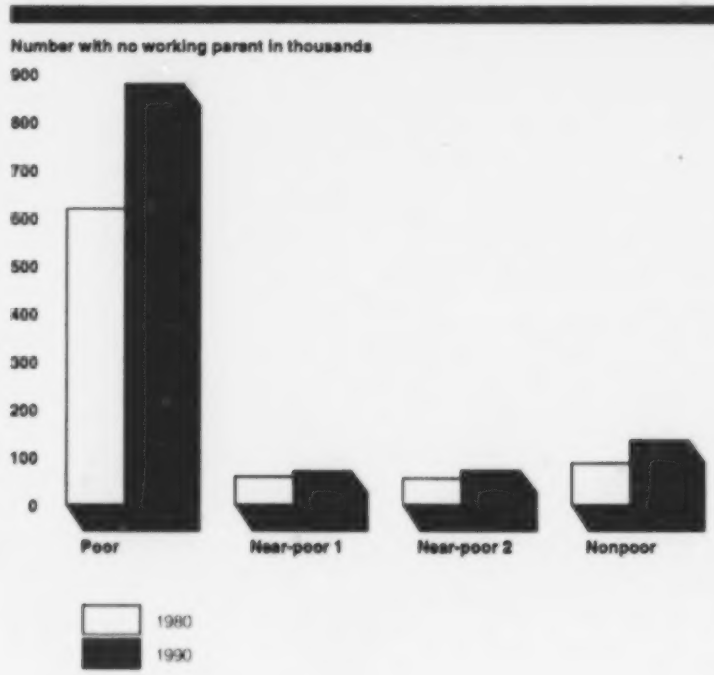
Figure 14: Infants and Toddlers by Work Status of Parents and Income Group, 1990



During 1980s, Number of Infants and Toddlers in Families Where No Parent Worked Increased

During the 1980s, the number of infants and toddlers living in families where no parent worked increased (see fig. 15 and table II.15).

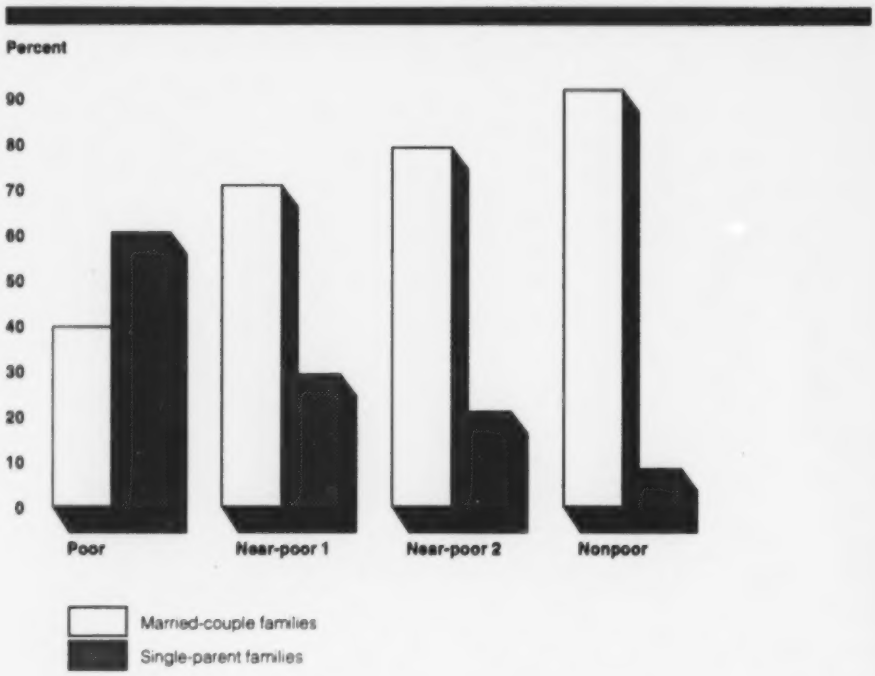
Figure 15: Change in Number of Infants and Toddlers by Work Status of Parents and Income Group, 1980-90



In 1990, Poor Infants and Toddlers Most Likely to Live in Single-Parent Families

In 1990, 60 percent of poor infants and toddlers lived in single-parent families. By contrast, less than 8 percent of nonpoor infants and toddlers lived in single-parent families (see fig. 16 and table II.16).

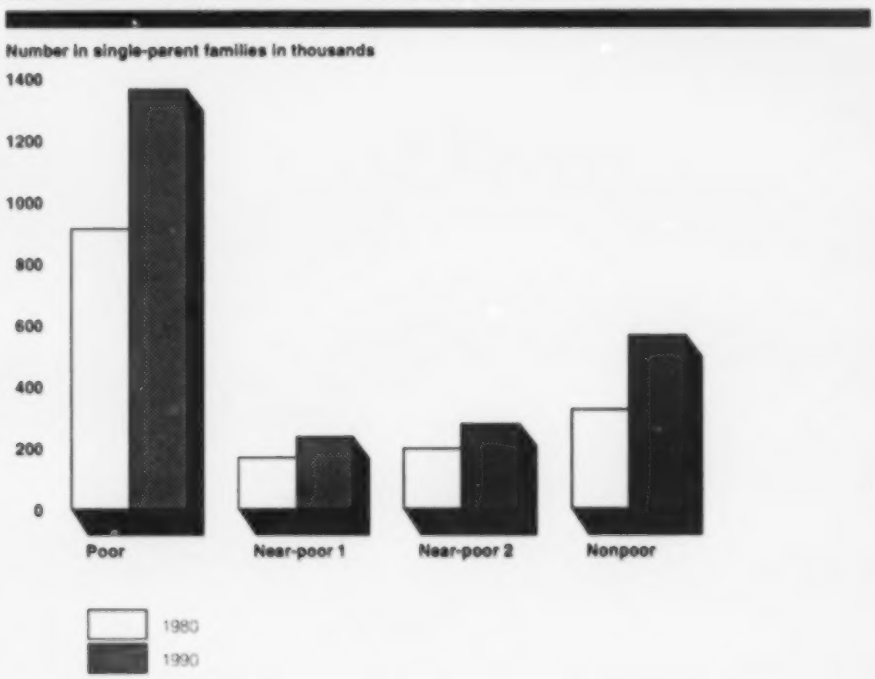
Figure 16: Infants and Toddlers by Family Type and Income Group, 1990



Between 1980 and 1990, Infants and Toddlers in Single-Parent Families Increased Among All Groups

During the 1980s, the number of infants and toddlers living in single-parent families increased. The total increase was 53 percent—from about 1.6 million to about 2.4 million. The number of poor increased by about 50 percent—from about 910,000 to about 1.4 million. The number of nonpoor increased by 75 percent, but the base was small—from 321,000 to about 562,000 (see fig. 17 and table II.17).

Figure 17: Change in Number of Infants and Toddlers by Family Type and Income Group, 1980-90



Federal Early Childhood Programs Serve a Small Percentage of Disadvantaged Infants and Toddlers

Many federal, state, and locally funded programs provide early intervention services to infants and toddlers. Examples of the largest federally funded education, nutrition, health, and child care programs that serve disadvantaged young children are the Head Start program, WIC, Medicaid for Children, the Childhood Immunization Program, and CCDBG.[15] States and localities also fund early childhood programs such as immunizations, preschool programs, and nutrition programs. However, data are limited on the total number of infants and toddlers served by state and locally funded programs and on funds spent on these programs. Federally funded programs generally serve a small portion of disadvantaged infants and toddlers.

The reasons federal programs serve a small portion of disadvantaged infants and toddlers vary. In some programs, such as Head Start, infants and toddlers are not eligible but receive services through research and demonstration programs (see table I.1 for eligibility criteria for all major early childhood programs). In other programs, such as WIC, infants and toddlers are eligible, but infants are given a higher priority; toddlers may not be served in some states because budgetary constraints limit the number of eligibles served. Other reasons for low rates of service in infant and toddler programs include lack of adequate outreach and logistical difficulties that the eligible population encounters in trying to obtain services.[16]

Table 1 summarizes the eligibility criteria, the estimated fiscal year 1993 funding levels, and the available data on the number of infants and toddlers served by the major federal programs. State and locally funded early childhood programs also provide services to infants and toddlers, but complete data on these programs are not available.

[15]Among education, nutrition, health, and child care programs that serve young children, the programs listed had the largest fiscal year 1993 budgets.

[16]See Early Intervention: Federal Investments Like WIC Can Produce Savings (GAO/HRD-92-18, Apr. 7, 1992); Home Visiting: A Promising Early Intervention Strategy for At-Risk Families (GAO/HRD-90-83, July 11, 1990); and Childhood Immunization: Opportunities to Improve Immunization Rates at Lower Cost (GAO/HRD-93-41, Mar. 24, 1993).

Table 1: Programs, Eligibility Criteria, Estimated Fiscal Year 1993 Funding Levels, and Numbers of Infants and Toddlers Served by Major Early Childhood Education Programs

Dollars in millions

Program	Eligibility criteria	Fiscal year 1993 funding	Infants and toddlers served
Head Start	Children aged 3 through compulsory school attendance. However, some birth through 2-year-olds are eligible for demonstration programs.	$2,779	In 1992, about 19,000 infants and toddlers were served in demonstration programs. The total number of infants and toddlers living in poverty in 1990 was 2.3 million; therefore, the percent of all poor infants and toddlers served by Head Start was less than 1 percent.
Medicaid for Children	Children living in families with an annual income up to 133 percent of the poverty line.	$7,476	In 1990, 4.8 million young children received Medicaid cards. Data are not reported for number of infants and toddlers served.
Childhood Immunizations	Children eligible for Medicaid—in families with an annual income up to 133 percent of the poverty line.	$350	In 1993, 2 million children aged 2 months through kindergarten age received immunizations. However, in 1991 only 37 percent of all 2-year-olds had been fully immunized for major childhood diseases.
Women, Infants, and Children (WIC)	Pregnant women and children living below 185 percent of the federal poverty line. Gives priority to pregnant women and infants. Toddlers are in a lower priority category.	$2,860	In 1991 about 2.3 million pregnant women and infants and 2.2 million children received WIC. WIC has not been funded to the level that would allow all eligibles to be served. While some states are able to serve all eligible applicants, others serve only the highest priority eligible (pregnant women and infants) because of resource constraints and must maintain waiting lists for the others.
Child Care and Development Block Grant	Children in families living at or below 75 percent of the median state income.	$1,083	This program did not begin until 1989. Uniform data are not currently available on the number and percent of all eligible infants and toddlers who received care under this program.
State and locally funded early childhood programs	Vary by state and locality. May or or may not match federal eligibility criteria for similar programs.	Not Available	Data are limited on the number of infants and toddlers served by these programs. However, studies suggest that gaps remain in the numbers of disadvantaged young children served by the combination of federal, state, and local early childhood programs.

Note: Estimated funding levels were made by federal agencies in response to a request by the National Education Goals Panel to identify programs with goal-related activities in the broad category "Before School Years." See The National Education Goals Report, Vol. I: The National Report, (Washington, D.C.: 1993), p. 191.

Conclusion

The dramatic increases in the number of poor, near-poor, and at-risk infants and toddlers pose challenges to many early childhood programs. While the benefits of programs such as WIC and the Childhood Immunization program are well documented, existing programs are limited and serve a small portion of eligible children, and some programs, such as Head Start, do not target infants and toddlers. The reauthorization of the Head Start program provides the Congress with an opportunity to determine future program directions, including proposed efforts to serve poor infants and toddlers. How the federal government, along with state and local governments, responds to the challenges of serving increasing numbers of disadvantaged infants and toddlers will determine whether the nation is able to meet the goal of having all children ready for school.

As arranged with your office, unless you publicly announce its contents earlier, we plan no further distribution of this report until 30 days from the date of this letter. At that time, we will send copies to the Secretary of Health and Human Services, the Secretary of Education, and other interested parties. If you have any questions concerning this report, please call me at (202) 512-7014. Major contributors to this report are listed in appendix III.

Sincerely yours,

Linda G. Morra
Director, Education
and Employment Issues

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Abbreviations

AFDC	Aid to Families with Dependent Children
CCDBG	Child Care and Development Block Grant
CPS	Current Population Survey
ERS	Economic Research Service
LTHD	less than high school diploma
LI	linguistically isolated
MA	Metropolitan Area
OMB	Office of Management and Budget
PES	Post Enumeration Survey
WIC	Women, Infants, and Children program

Objectives, Scope, and Methodology

The Chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Children, Family, Drugs and Alcoholism asked that we

- describe the characteristics of infants and toddlers and how they changed between 1980 and 1990 and
- describe the eligibility criteria of major early childhood programs and the percentage of infants and toddlers served by them.

We used 1980 and 1990 decennial census data to address the first issue. To answer the second issue we reviewed the literature and examined previous GAO work.

To obtain the best data available to address the first issue, we held discussions with Bureau of the Census officials, academic experts, and an outside consultant. From these discussions, we decided that a tabulation of 1980 and 1990 decennial census data designed to our specifications regarding the characteristics of school-age children would most effectively meet our needs. We conducted our review between August 1993 and October 1993 in accordance with generally accepted government auditing standards.

The Special Tabulation of 1980 and 1990 Decennial Census Data

We obtained a specially designed tabulation of 1980 and 1990 decennial census data from the Bureau of the Census. This tabulation is a subset of the 1980 and 1990 Decennial Census Sample Edited Detail Files and contains characteristics of the population of specific geographic units. Census created the tabulation from its detailed sample files containing individual records on the population of the entire United States. Census's 1990 detailed files represent a 15.5-percent sample of the total U.S. population and a 16-percent sample of all U.S. households. Census's 1980 detailed files represent an 18.2-percent sample of the total U.S. population and an 18.4-percent sample of all U.S. households.

Contents of the Special Tabulation: Geographic, Age, Income, and Racial/Ethnic Characteristics

The tabulation contains detailed information on the economic, social, and demographic characteristics of the U.S. population, with a particular focus on children living in families.[1] The tabulation contains this information for certain geographic units and age groups and generally includes comparable data for both 1980 and 1990.

Geographic Location

The tabulation includes detailed characteristics on the population of the urban and rural sections of every county or county equivalent[2] in the United States, including Alaska and Hawaii.[3] The urban section of each county represents the aggregation of

- places of 2,500 or more persons incorporated as cities, villages, boroughs, and towns, excluding the rural parts of extended cities;[4]
- census-designated places of 2,500 or more persons; and
- other territories, incorporated or unincorporated, included in urbanized areas in that county.

Census defines all remaining areas of a county as rural. The tabulation data for the urban and rural sections of a county can be aggregated to comprise the entire county. Counties can be aggregated into states, regions, or the nation.

Age

For both 1980 and 1990, the tabulation contains information on populations by single year of age for persons from birth through age 7. It

[1]Census defines a family as consisting of a householder and one or more other persons living in the same household who are related to the householder by birth, marriage, or adoption. A household includes all the persons who occupy a housing unit—a house, an apartment, a mobile home, a group of rooms, or a single room that is occupied as separate living quarters. All persons in a household who are related to the householder are regarded as members of his or her family. A household can contain only one family for purposes of census tabulations. Not all households contain families because a household may comprise a group of unrelated individuals or one person living alone.

[2]In Louisiana, the county equivalent is the parish. In Alaska, county equivalents are organized as boroughs and census areas. Some states—like Virginia—have "independent cities," which are treated as counties for statistical purposes.

[3]Our tabulation does not include information on the populations of Puerto Rico, American Samoa, or other outlying areas of the United States.

[4]Census aggregates the boroughs of a county in all states except Alaska and New York. Census aggregates the towns of a county in all states except New York and Wisconsin and the six New England states—Connecticut, Massachusetts, Maine, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Vermont.

also includes information on persons in age groups 8 to 11, 12 to 17, 18 to 24, 25 to 64, and 65 years and over.

Poverty Status/Income/Public Assistance

The tabulation contains information on household income and poverty status for all persons for whom the Census can determine a poverty status.[5] Census derives information on income and poverty status from answers to census questions concerning income received by persons 15 years of age and older during the calendar year prior to the census year. Thus, the 1990 decennial census contains information on persons' 1989 calendar year income. Information on persons' poverty status in the tabulation is based on the standard definition of poverty status used by Census and prescribed by the Office of Management and Budget as a statistical standard for federal agencies.[6]

Specified poverty levels also are included in the tabulation; these are obtained by multiplying the income cutoffs at the poverty level by the appropriate factor. For example, the average income cutoff of 133 percent of poverty level (near-poor) was $16,856 ($12,674 multiplied by 1.33) in 1989 for a family of four.

Analysts have criticized the poverty threshold for being both too high or too low. For example, the existing poverty thresholds do not account for area cost-of-living differences. Price differences among areas imply that more expensive areas need higher incomes to maintain adequate levels of consumption. Because some parts of the country (for example, the Northeast and urban areas in general) have higher prices than others, families that live in these areas may need higher incomes to maintain the same level of consumption as lower-income families in less expensive places. Correcting for this difference in price levels would tend to increase poverty rates in areas with high costs of living and decrease them in others, even after adjusting for differences in median income.

The decennial census also includes a question on public assistance, but the question asks if any person in the household received any form of

[5]Census does not determine poverty status for institutionalized persons, homeless persons, persons in military group quarters and in college dormitories, and unrelated individuals under 15 years of age. These persons are excluded from the denominator when Census calculates poverty rates—the percentage of persons in poverty.

[6]Census determines poverty thresholds on the basis of family size and the corresponding poverty level income for that family size. Census and the GAO tabulation classify the family income of each family or unrelated individual according to their corresponding family-size category. For example, for the 1990 census, the poverty cutoff for a family of four was a 1989 income of $12,674.

public assistance. Given that this question did not differentiate among different forms of public assistance and that the question was asked of the household and not of the family, we did not include it in our analysis. However, only seven states have Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) thresholds above poverty: Alaska, California, Connecticut, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New York, and Vermont. Each of these states' thresholds is below 133 percent of poverty.

Race and Ethnicity

The tabulation contains information on 22 separate racial and ethnic classifications. (See table I.1.) The tabulation's race/ethnic classifications are based on the Census question regarding Hispanic origin. Thus, the non-Hispanic classifications—white, black, or others—are for non-Hispanic members of those racial groups only. The "Hispanic" categories include Hispanic persons of all races. The tabulation includes racial and ethnic classifications that are comparable in definition for 1980 and 1990, except for the categories "Central/South American" and "Other Hispanic." Census calculated the "Central/South American" classification for 1990 but not for 1980, when it included these persons in the "Other Hispanic" classification.

Table I.1: Contents of the Special Tabulation: Racial and Ethnic Characteristics, 1980 and 1990 Decennial Censuses

Not of Hispanic origin	Hispanic origin
Total white	Mexican
Total black	Puerto Rican
Asian and Pacific Islander	Cuban
Chinese	Central/South American
Japanese	Other Hispanic
Filipino	
Asian Indian	
Korean	
Vietnamese	
Cambodian	
Hmong	
Laotian	
Thai	
Other Asian	
Pacific Islander, except Hawaiian	
Hawaiian	
American Indian, Eskimo, or Aleut	
Other races	

Contents of the Special Tabulation: Other Social and Demographic Characteristics

The special tabulation also contains information on family type, parental employment status, educational attainment, and similar social characteristics. (See table I.2). Except where noted, data are comparable for both 1980 and 1990.

Table I.2: Contents of Special Tabulation: Demographic Characteristics, 1980 and 1990 Decennial Censuses

Family type	
Married-couple family	
Female householder, no husband present	
Male householder, no wife present	
Work experience (employment status) of parents in 1989[a]	
Living with two parents	Living with mother
Both parents worked full-time, full-year	Mother worked full-time, full-year
One parent worked full-time, full-year, other parent part-time or did not work	
One or both parents worked part-time or part year	Mother worked part-time or part-year
Neither parent worked	Mother did not work
Immigrant status	
Foreign born	
First generation (recent arrival)	
Nonimmigrant	
Education level of most educated parent	
Grade school or less	
Some high school (9-12, no diploma)	
High school graduate (diploma)	
Some college or associate degree	
Bachelor's degree or more	
No parent present	
School enrollment	
Not attending school	
Enrolled in school	

[a]This variable includes persons aged birth through 2 who are not in a family in a separate category.

Family Type

The special tabulation includes information on a person's family type. This variable classifies persons in families by family type even when the family does not include a parent. For example, a family with children that is headed by a grandmother with no spouse is included in the category "female householder—no husband."

Parental Employment Status

The special tabulation's work experience variable focuses on persons in families with two parents or single-parent families including the mother only. Like the 1980 and 1990 decennial censuses, the special tabulation does not contain information on the parental work experience of families headed by any other relative (grandmother, aunt, uncle, or other relatives) or single-parent families headed by the father. The tabulation includes comparable data on this variable for both 1980 and 1990.

Parental Educational Attainment

The special tabulation's education level of the most educated parent variable includes information only on persons in families with parents.[7] The tabulation contains information on persons in families where at least one parent is present. However, it does not classify other families, for example, those headed by grandmothers, uncles, or other relatives, by educational attainment.

Census included instructions with the questionnaire that specified that schooling completed in foreign or ungraded systems should be reported as the equivalent level of schooling in the regular American system and that vocational certificates or diplomas from vocational, trade or business schools, or colleges were not to be reported unless they were college-level degrees. Census also asked respondents to exclude honorary degrees.

Although the tabulation includes consistent data on the educational attainment question for both 1980 and 1990, construction for each question is different. The data for 1990 conform to the 1990 decennial census's question regarding educational attainment. The 1980 census reported numbers of years of education for each respondent. The special tabulation contains the 1980 data translated into the 1990 categories.[8]

[7]We chose to focus on the educational attainment of the most educated parent because many analyses have found that "educated status of the more educated parent" is highly correlated with educational outcomes as well as social behaviors like career choice.

[8]Census translated the 1980 years of education totals as follows: 8 years of education or less to "Grade School or Less," 9 to 11 years to "Some High School (9-12, no diploma)," 12 years to "High School Graduate (diploma)", 13 to 15 years to "Some College or Associate Degree," and 16 years or more to "Bachelor's Degree or more." "No Parent Present" remained the same.

Immigrant Status

The GAO tabulation's immigrant variable includes information on those persons who are foreign born and not of U.S. parents. It also includes a separate recent-arrival category for those persons who are native born but who have a foreign-born mother[9] who came to the United States during the 10 years before the census.[10] In this report, we typically define the foreign-born and first-generation categories as immigrant.

School Enrollment

The special tabulation also contains information on whether or not a person is enrolled in school.

Contents of the Special Tabulation: Linguistic Characteristics

The tabulation also contains information on linguistic isolation. (See table I.3.) This variable was identical for both 1980 and 1990.

Table I.3: Contents of Special Tabulation: Linguistic Characteristics, 1980 and 1990 Decennial Censuses

Linguistic Isolation	
1. In linguistically isolated households	2. In nonlinguistically isolated households

Linguistic Isolation

The special tabulation includes information on persons living in LI households. (See table I.3.) These are households in which no one 14 years or older speaks English "only" and no person aged 14 years or older who speaks a language other than English speaks English "very well." We typically focused on LI infants and toddlers—persons aged birth through 2 in families—living in LI households. The tabulation classifies all members of an LI household as LI, including members who may speak "only English."

[9]Although somewhat more narrow, this definition is consistent with research definitions of the foreign stock populations. This population is considered crucial to understanding that segment of the population with the strongest foreign language and cultural experience.

[10]For 1980, the recent-arrival category includes native born children with a foreign-born mother who immigrated to the United States during the previous 10 years (back to 1970). For those children who have no mother, the question examines the father's place of origin. Children without either parent are classified as nonimmigrant.

Variables Created From the Special Tabulation

GAO's Age Variable

We age-adjusted the data in this report so that they would be comparable to data in our study Poor Preschool-Aged Children: Numbers Increase but Most Not in Preschool. In the study of preschool-aged children, we adjusted the age in order to accurately convey the number of children enrolled in school as of the beginning of the school year—or October 1989 rather than April 1990. The Census was completed by respondents as of April 1990, but most children began school in the fall of 1989. Therefore, in the preschool report, data as of April could convey an incomplete picture of the number of children eligible to enroll at the beginning of the school year. For example, a child who was 3 years old in April could have been 2-1/2 in October 1989, and, therefore, ineligible for preschool. We also adjusted the data in this study of infants and toddlers to October 1989 so that the data would be comparable to the previous report.

GAO's Parental Employment Status Variable

The GAO tabulation's work experience variable focuses only on persons in families with two parents or single-parent families including the mother only. Like the 1980 and 1990 Censuses, the tabulation does not contain information on parental work experience of families headed by any other relative (for example, grandmother, aunt, or uncle) or single-parent families headed by the father. GAO defined a parental employment status variable by collapsing the tabulation's parental employment status variable in the following manner:

- Two parents with full-time work: includes all persons aged birth through 2 in families where "both parents worked full-time, full year."
- One parent with full-time work, other parent working less than full-time: includes "only one parent worked full-time, full year," and all infants and toddlers in families headed by a single mother where "the mother worked full-time, full year."
- No employed parent with full-time work: includes all persons aged birth through 2 in families where "neither parent worked full-time, full year" and all infants and toddlers in families headed by a single mother where "the mother worked part-time or part year."

- No parent employed: includes persons aged birth through 2 in families where "neither parent worked" and all persons aged birth through 2 in families headed by a single mother where "the mother did not work."

Cities and Rural Counties

The GAO tabulation contains detailed information on counties and metropolitan areas but not cities per se. Therefore, we used an extract from the Summary Tape File 3—a standardized set of data produced by the Census—for city-level data. This data table does not include information on children aged birth through 2, but does include data on children below age 5. This was the best source of information available on young children's poverty rates in cities and, therefore, we provided city-level data on children aged birth through 4.

We used the detailed county-level data from the GAO tabulation to compute poverty rates for each county in the country. In addition to the geographic distinctions contained in the tabulation, we used the Economic Research Service (ERS) system to code the counties as urban or rural. The ERS system, commonly referred to as Beale Codes, classifies metropolitan and nonmetropolitan counties into finer categories based on population and relative location to a metropolitan area. We then computed poverty rates for each of the rural counties in the United States.

Strengths and Limitations of Decennial Census Data

Strengths

GAO's tabulation of 1980 and 1990 decennial census data provides the most comprehensive national database at a detailed geographic level on the characteristics of infants and toddlers. Although we identified other sources of data that address some of the requester's concerns, weaknesses in these data sources led us to choose a special tabulation of 1980 and 1990 decennial census data. For example, some information on the characteristics of young children is available from the October Current Population Survey (CPS) supplements. However, because of a far smaller sample size, CPS does not permit statistically meaningful analysis of many

state populations. Despite the strengths of the Census tabulation, it has some limitations.

Limitation: Undercounting the Population

The decennial census typically fails to count a portion of the population, and because our estimates are based on Census data they are also affected by the undercount. Census has studied certain aspects of the 1990 census net undercount[11] through its 1990 Post Enumeration Survey (PES), which interviewed a sample of 165,000 census respondents several months after the census. Census also studied the 1990 undercount through demographic analysis—a development of an independent estimate of the population obtained administratively through the use of birth and death record data. Census's demographic analysis forms a historical series profiling the undercount population begun in 1940 and continued through 1990.

For the 1990 census, both the PES and Census's demographic analysis show a net census undercount. The net undercount as estimated by PES was about 1.6 percent of the resident census count of 248.7 million or approximately 4.2 million people. Based on demographic analysis, the net undercount was about 1.8 percent or approximately 4.7 million persons.[12]

Census's PES was geared toward developing undercount estimates for regions, census divisions, and cities and does not directly provide national undercount estimates. The PES also was limited in that it estimated net undercounts for selected age strata; for example, persons from birth to 9 years old and from ages 10 to 19.

Census's demographic analysis has focused on the variation in the net undercount by age, race, and sex. Although estimates of the net undercount have declined for each decennial census since 1940, the undercount estimate for 1990 showed a significant increase for males compared with 1980. Evidence exists that shows that the net undercount in 1990 varied by race, sex, and age. Analysis by Census researchers suggests that the net undercount was largest for blacks and particularly for black males of ages 25 to 45. The net undercount was also large for black children under age 10, although it approached 0 for black males and females aged 15 to 19. Estimated net undercounts for non-black males and females were typically much lower than for blacks and approached 0 for persons 10 to 14 years old.

[11]The undercount is net because while the census misses some persons it improperly counts others.

[12]About three-fourths of these omissions or 3.48 million persons were males. About 40 percent of all omissions or 1.84 million persons were black.

Sampling Errors

Because the tabulation is based on Census's 1990 detailed sample files containing individual population records, each reported estimate has an associated sampling error. The size of the sampling error reflects the precision of the estimate; the smaller the error, the more precise the estimate. Sampling errors for estimates from the tabulation were calculated at the 95-percent confidence level. This means that the chances are about 19 out of 20 that the actual number or percentage being estimated falls within the range defined by our estimate, plus or minus the sampling error. For example, if we estimated that 30 percent of a group has a particular characteristic and the sampling error is 1 percentage point, there is a 95-percent chance that the actual percentage is between 29 and 31.

Generally, the sampling errors for characteristics of national groups did not exceed .5 percent at the 95-percent confidence level. However, sampling errors for changes in state population estimates are generally larger. For example, sampling errors range from about 2 percent for larger states such as California and New York, to over 15 percent for smaller states such as Alaska and Nevada.

Review of Literature and Previous GAO Work

To answer the requester's question about the nature of the early childhood programs, the eligibility criteria they use, and the percentage of the infant and toddler population served by them, we reviewed the literature and previous GAO work. We selected early childhood education programs with the largest estimated fiscal year 1993 funding levels. The programs we selected are the largest early childhood education, child care, nutrition, and health programs.

Data Points for Figures

Tables in appendix II provide data points for figures in the letter. Included in this appendix are state data points. As a result of rounding, details may not sum to totals in all cases.

Table II.1: Data for Figure 1: Poverty Rates for the U.S. Population, 1990

Age group	Percent
Infants and toddlers (birth through 2)	20.0
Preschool aged (3 to 4)	20.0
School age (5 to 17)	17.5
Young adult (18 to 24)	19.4
Prime age (25 to 64)	9.5
Elderly (65+)	12.8

Table II.2: Data for Figure 2: Change in Number of Infants and Toddlers by Income Group, 1980-90

Poverty category	Percent change
Poor	26.0
Near-poor 1	8.2
Near-poor 2	-2.5
Nonpoor	13.4
Birth through 2-year-olds	13.2

Table II.3: Data for Figure 3: Infant and Toddler Poverty Rate by State, 1990

State	Poverty rate
Alabama	27
Alaska	14
Arizona	25
Arkansas	29
California	19
Colorado	18
Connecticut	12
Delaware	13
DC	27
Florida	21
Georgia	22
Hawaii	13
Idaho	20
Illinois	19
Indiana	17
Iowa	18
Kansas	17
Kentucky	28
Louisiana	33
Maine	15
Maryland	12
Massachusetts	15
Michigan	23
Minnesota	15
Mississippi	36
Missouri	21
Montana	24
Nebraska	18
Nevada	15
New Hampshire	8
New Jersey	12
New Mexico	30
New York	21
North Carolina	19
North Dakota	20
Ohio	21
Oklahoma	26

(continued)

State	Poverty rate
Oregon	20
Pennsylvania	18
Rhode Island	17
South Carolina	23
South Dakota	24
Tennessee	24
Texas	26
Utah	16
Vermont	14
Virginia	15
Washington	17
West Virginia	32
Wisconsin	18
Wyoming	18
U.S. Total	**20**

Table II.4: Data for Figure 4: Percent of Infants and Toddlers Eligible for Child Care Development Block Grant by State, 1990

State	Percent
Alabama	44
Alaska	50
Arizona	46
Arkansas	45
California	46
Colorado	43
Connecticut	40
Delaware	41
DC	50
Florida	42
Georgia	45
Hawaii	45
Idaho	43
Illinois	41
Indiana	41
Iowa	39
Kansas	41
Kentucky	45
Louisiana	46
Maine	39
Maryland	40

(continued)

State	Percent
Massachusetts	40
Michigan	44
Minnesota	37
Mississippi	48
Missouri	41
Montana	42
Nebraska	40
Nevada	42
New Hampshire	35
New Jersey	39
New Mexico	48
New York	44
North Carolina	43
North Dakota	39
Ohio	42
Oklahoma	46
Oregon	43
Pennsylvania	39
Rhode Island	41
South Carolina	45
South Dakota	42
Tennessee	44
Texas	46
Utah	40
Vermont	40
Virginia	42
Washington	43
West Virginia	46
Wisconsin	40
Wyoming	43
U.S. Total	**43**

Table II.5: Data for Figure 5: Cities With Poverty Rates for Young Children Above 25 Percent, 1990[a]

City	Number in poverty	Total population	Percent
Detroit, MI	56,450	112,567	50
Gary, IN	5,488	11,625	47
Flint, MI	7,673	16,276	47
Hartford, CT	6,527	13,982	47
New Orleans, LA	22,635	49,486	46
Atlanta, GA	16,383	36,091	45
Miami, FL	13,870	31,019	45
Cleveland, OH	23,582	53,873	44
Dayton, OH	8,272	18,980	44
Laredo, TX	6,461	15,426	42
Buffalo, NY	12,852	32,239	40
St. Louis, MO	15,008	38,525	39
Milwaukee, WI	26,303	67,747	39
Cincinnati, OH	14,824	38,406	39
Shreveport, LA	7,802	20,270	38
Rochester, NY	10,188	26,745	38
Fresno, CA	16,755	44,490	38
Waco, TX	3,676	9,816	37
Louisville, KY	8,595	23,062	37
Syracuse, NY	5,772	15,648	37
Macon, GA	3,873	10,507	37
Newark, NJ	9,669	26,291	37
Baton Rouge, LA	7,307	20,179	36
Birmingham, AL	8,815	24,532	36
Richmond, VA	6,125	17,057	36
Memphis, TN	21,845	62,193	35
Providence, RI	5,531	16,045	34
San Bernardino, CA	7,371	21,392	34
El Paso, TX	19,475	57,629	34
Chicago, IL	90,355	269,913	33
Pittsburgh, PA	9,696	29,007	33
New Haven, CT	4,021	12,096	33
Erie, PA	3,496	10,692	33
San Antonio, TX	33,564	102,816	33
Mobile, AL	6,255	19,196	33
Akron, OH	6,885	21,168	33
Tampa, FL	8,313	25,566	33

(continued)

City	Number in poverty	Total population	Percent
Baltimore, MD	22,650	70,027	32
Savannah, GA	4,519	14,056	32
Springfield, MA	5,432	16,935	32
Jackson, MS	6,325	19,802	32
Peoria, IL	3,437	10,921	31
Minneapolis, MN	10,381	33,369	31
Fort Lauderdale, FL	3,420	11,082	31
Chattanooga, TN	3,983	13,088	30
Knoxville, TN	3,800	12,501	30
Stockton, CA	7,739	25,487	30
East Los Angeles, CA	4,890	16,214	30
Oakland, CA	11,126	37,015	30
Philadelphia, PA	42,533	142,643	30
Toledo, OH	10,184	34,355	30
Beaumont, TX	3,356	11,390	29
Lowell, MA	3,399	11,577	29
Jersey City, NJ	5,957	20,435	29
Houston, TX	49,337	170,256	29
Lansing, MI	4,202	14,566	29
New York, NY	180,177	628,334	29
Bridgeport, CT	4,046	14,394	28
Sacramento, CA	10,743	38,350	28
St. Paul, MN	8,135	29,133	28
Columbus, OH	5,406	19,372	28
Kansas City, MO	4,492	16,165	28
Orlando, FL	3,850	13,917	28
El Monte, CA	3,903	14,205	27
Denver, CO	11,599	42,714	27
Tucson, AZ	10,867	39,991	27
Albany, NY	1,992	7,379	27
Corpus Christi, TX	7,487	27,911	27
Norfolk, VA	7,178	26,867	27
Boston, MA	11,386	43,630	26
Long Beach, CA	12,048	46,215	26
Paterson, NJ	4,018	15,415	26
Portsmouth, VA	2,881	11,107	26
Dallas, TX	26,019	100,361	26
Los Angeles, CA	88,944	346,559	26

(continued)

City	Number in poverty	Total population	Percent
Montgomery, AL	4,803	18,986	25
Washington, DC	11,206	44,350	25

[a]Data in this table are provided on children under age 5.

Table II.6: Data for Figure 6: States by Number of Rural Counties With Poverty Rates Above 50 Percent for Infants and Toddlers, 1990

State	Rural counties with poverty rates above 50 percent
Alabama	3
Alaska	0
Arizona	0
Arkansas	0
California	1
Colorado	1
Connecticut	0
Delaware	0
DC	NA
Florida	0
Georgia	2
Hawaii	0
Idaho	0
Illinois	1
Indiana	0
Iowa	0
Kansas	0
Kentucky	9
Louisiana	3
Maine	0
Maryland	0
Massachusetts	0
Michigan	0
Minnesota	0
Mississippi	9
Missouri	1
Montana	0
Nebraska	1
Nevada	0
New Hampshire	0
New Jersey	0
New Mexico	1
New York	0
North Carolina	0
North Dakota	3
Ohio	0

(continued)

State	Rural counties with poverty rates above 50 percent
Oklahoma	0
Oregon	0
Pennsylvania	0
Rhode Island	0
South Carolina	0
South Dakota	8
Tennessee	1
Texas	5
Utah	0
Vermont	0
Virginia	0
Washington	0
West Virginia	3
Wisconsin	1
Wyoming	0
U.S. Total	**53**

Table II.7: Data for Figure 1.7: Change in Number of Poor Infants and Toddlers by State, 1980-90

State	1980	1990	Numerical change	Percent change
Alabama	45,196	45,975	779[a]	2
Alaska	3,189	4,651	1,462	46
Arizona	23,398	44,549	21,151	90
Arkansas	27,012	28,986	1,974	7
California	184,753	275,466	90,713	49
Colorado	17,654	27,655	10,001	57
Connecticut	16,860	16,531	-329[a]	-2
Delaware	4,630	3,901	-729	-16
DC	6,038	5,932	-106[a]	-2
Florida	72,369	106,425	34,056	47
Georgia	57,391	67,100	9,709	17
Hawaii	7,714	6,311	-1,403	-18
Idaho	9,413	9,759	346[a]	4
Illinois	87,110	98,893	11,783	14
Indiana	36,272	41,421	5,149	14
Iowa	18,296	20,758	2,462	13
Kansas	15,020	19,439	4,419	29
Kentucky	39,224	42,575	3,351	9

(continued)

State	1980	1990	Numerical change	Percent change
Louisiana	53,835	67,653	13,818	26
Maine	8,389	7,959	–430[a]	–5
Maryland	24,324	26,080	1,756	7
Massachusetts	32,063	36,590	4,527	14
Michigan	66,220	95,386	29,166	44
Minnesota	23,109	30,540	7,431	32
Mississippi	39,327	42,585	3,258	8
Missouri	34,975	46,179	11,204	32
Montana	6,541	8,529	1,988	30
Nebraska	9,924	12,701	2,777	28
Nevada	4,091	8,453	4,362	107
New Hampshire	4,323	4,349	26[a]	1
New Jersey	47,268	38,591	–8,677	–18
New Mexico	15,997	22,933	6,936	43
New York	154,662	158,230	3,568	2
North Carolina	47,759	54,954	7,195	15
North Dakota	5,058	5,665	607[a]	12
Ohio	76,294	101,530	25,236	33
Oklahoma	24,574	35,091	10,517	43
Oregon	18,552	24,568	6,016	32
Pennsylvania	71,350	85,852	14,502	20
Rhode Island	5,675	7,044	1,369	24
South Carolina	32,222	35,856	3,634	11
South Dakota	7,550	7,797	247[a]	3
Tennessee	42,985	49,272	6,287	15
Texas	135,105	215,715	80,610	60
Utah	14,741	16,700	1,959	13
Vermont	3,635	3,438	–197[a]	–5
Virginia	36,242	39,438	3,196	9
Washington	27,708	37,879	10,171	37
West Virginia	16,695	20,906	4,211	25
Wisconsin	26,619	38,670	12,150	45
Wyoming	2,262	3,831	1,569	69
U.S. Total	**1,791,612**	**2,257,294**	**465,682**	**26**

[a]Change in state population not statistically significant at the 95-percent confidence level, indicating no statistically significant change in population.

Table II.8: Data for Figure 8: Percent of Infants and Toddlers in Minority Groups by Income, 1990

	Percent	
Poverty category	White	All minorities
Poor	41.9	58.1
Near-poor 1	56.6	43.4
Near-poor 2	64.5	35.5
Nonpoor	79.4	20.6
Birth through 2-year-olds	68.4	31.6

Table II.9: Data for Figure 9: Change in Number of Infants and Toddlers by Minority Status, 1980-90

	Percent change				
Poverty category	White	Black	Hispanic	Asian	American Indian/ other
Poor	12.0	23.4	59.6	120.6	53.6
Near-poor 1	.2	-3.0	45.5	101.8	18.8
Near-poor 2	-10.2	-2.4	30.9	83.2	10.0
Nonpoor	9.7	14.9	36.1	85.2	13.0
Birth through 2-year-olds	6.8	14.1	43.3	91.1	26.5

Table II.10: Data for Figure 10: Infants and Toddlers by Immigrant and LI Status, 1990

Poverty category	Percent immigrant
Poor	9.4
Near-poor 1	11.0
Near-poor 2	8.9
Nonpoor	4.8
Birth through 2-year-olds	6.7

Poverty category	Percent LI
Poor	10.2
Near-poor 1	9.4
Near-poor 2	6.9
Nonpoor	2.5
Birth through 2-year-olds	5.1

Table II.11: Data for Figure 11: Change in Number of Immigrant and LI Infants and Toddlers, 1980-90

	Immigrant infants and toddlers	
Poverty category	**1980**	**1990**
Poor	126,638	212,913
Near-poor 1	56,994	87,513
Near-poor 2	83,719	116,510
Nonpoor	255,506	327,143
Birth through 2-year-olds	522,856	744,078

	LI infants and toddlers	
Poverty category	**1980**	**1990**
Poor	166,089	229,972
Near-poor 1	54,966	74,805
Near-poor 2	73,499	89,865
Nonpoor	147,146	173,073
Birth through 2-year-olds	441,699	567,714

Table II.12: Data for Figure 12: Infants and Toddlers by Educational Attainment of Most Educated Parent and Income Group, 1990

	Percent		
Age group	**Less than high school diploma**	**High school diploma**	**More than high school**
Poor	42.0	32.8	25.2
Near-poor 1	25.7	36.4	37.9
Near-poor 2	18.0	35.6	46.4
Nonpoor	5.6	20.4	74.1
Birth through 2-year-olds	15.7	25.8	58.5

Table II.13: Data for Figure 13: Change in Number of Infants and Toddlers by Educational Attainment of Most Educated Parent and Income Group, 1980-90

	Infants and toddlers in LTHD families	
Poverty category	**1980**	**1990**
Poor	731,210	922,574
Near-poor 1	193,905	200,719
Near-poor 2	245,445	230,429
Nonpoor	391,247	376,093
Birth through 2-year-olds	1,561,808	1,729,815

Table II.14: Data for Figure 14: Infants and Toddlers by Work Status of Parents and Income Group, 1990

	Percent			
Poverty category	Two parents worked full-time	One parent worked full-time	One or more parent worked only full-time	No parent worked
Poor	0.5	15.7	41.3	42.6
Near-poor 1	2.4	51.0	37.0	9.5
Near-poor 2	5.7	60.5	27.9	5.9
Nonpoor	22.0	61.5	14.4	2.1
Birth through 2-year-olds	14.6	51.7	22.8	11.0

Table II.15: Data for Figure 15: Change in Number of Infants and Toddlers by Work Status of Parents and Income Group, 1980-90

	Infants and toddlers in homes where no parent worked	
Poverty category	1980	1990
Poor	618,308	878,274
Near-poor 1	58,312	69,166
Near-poor 2	54,727	70,764
Nonpoor	86,585	134,124
Birth through 2-year-olds	817,931	1,152,329

Table II.16: Data for Figure 16: Infants and Toddlers by Family Type and Income Group, 1990

	Percent	
Poverty category	Married-couple families	Single-parent families
Poor	39.6	60.4
Near-poor 1	70.8	29.2
Near-poor 2	79.1	20.9
Nonpoor	91.7	8.3
Birth through 2-year-olds	78.2	21.8

Table II.17: Data for Figure 17: Change in Number of Infants and Toddlers by Family Type and Income Group, 1980-90

	Infants and toddlers in single-parent families	
Poverty category	1980	1990
Poor	910,198	1,362,455
Near-poor 1	165,581	232,877
Near-poor 2	194,236	273,158
Nonpoor	320,755	561,703
Birth through 2-year-olds	1,590,771	2,430,193

Major Contributors to This Report

Beatrice F. Birman, Assistant Director, (202) 512-7008
Diane E. Schilder, Evaluator-in-Charge
Joan K. Vogel, Senior Evaluator

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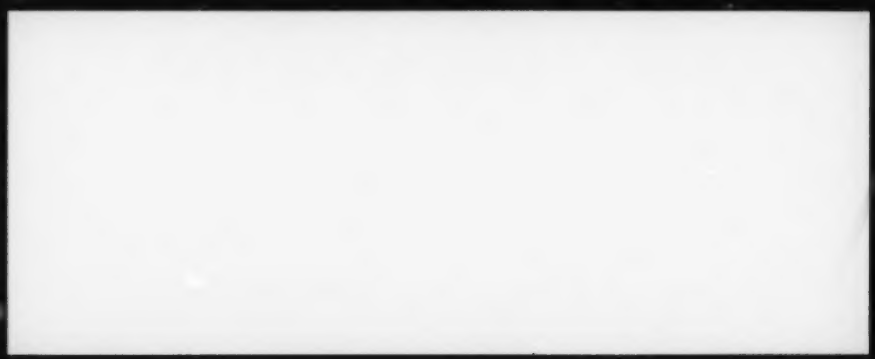

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